Infant preparations for language

- What <u>do</u> babies know about language?
 - any language
 - their native language
- What do they have to learn?



1

Perceptual preparations for language

Lookjoeyfoundafrog! ←



2 perceptual questions:

Do infants perceive ...

 \dots the right kinds of <u>objects</u> & <u>events</u>

... the sounds of speech as we do?

Outline

1. Speech to infants

And how infants respond to it

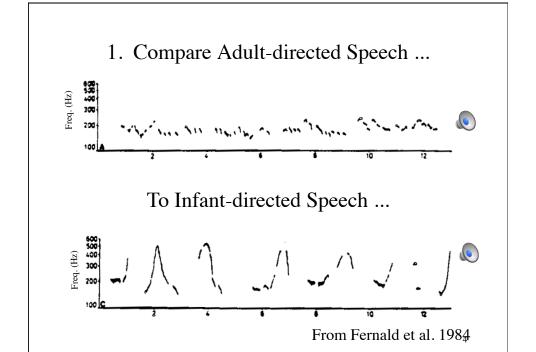
2. Speech sound categorization

For adults

Initial infant capacities

How infants' capacities change

3. Finding words



Infant-directed speech (or "motherese")

- has
 - higher pitch
 - bigger pitch range
 - smoothed and connected pitch contours
- This is widely found across languages and cultures.

5

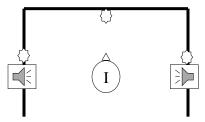
Mothers & Fathers, Across Cultures FRENCH ITALIAN GERMAN JAPANESE BRITISH ENGLISH MO Fa MO FA

Babies <u>prefer</u> motherese (Fernald):

- 4-month-olds
- Listened to 4 strangers' speech
 - To their own infants
 - Or to an adult

7

How can we tell what they prefer? Listening Preference Task



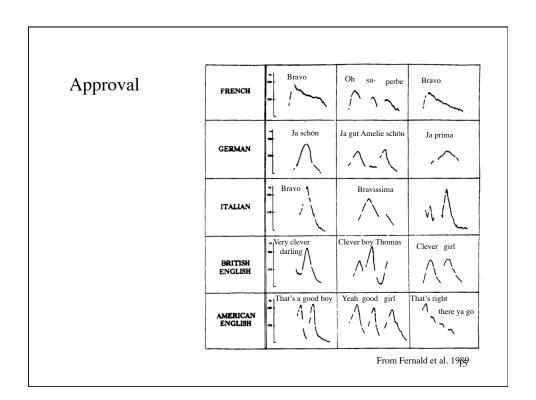
- 1. Center light
- 2. Side light
- 3. Sound starts when I turns to side
- 4. And stops when I looks away

So ... I chooses how long to listen!

I's listen longer to ID than AD speech (from strangers)

How could this help acquisition?

- ID speech engages and holds the infant's interest (e.g., Fernald, Werker & McLeod)
- ID speech is higher pitched
 - Subjective loudness increases with pitch
 - So higher-pitched tones are easier to hear
- ID speech is emotional speech it conveys emotional messages (Fernald)



Prohibition

FRENCH	Laurent non non non	Non. Fanny, non	Non tu touches pas. Tu touches pas. C'est defendu.
GERMAN	Nein. Nein, Daniel. Nein-nein.	Nein. Nein.	Tania. Nein.
ITALIAN	No no. Non si tocca.	No. No. No.	Non, Alessandro. No.
BRITISH ENGLISH	No. No no. No.	Eddy. No.	No. Thomas No
AMERICAN ENGLISH	No no. Brady.	Adam. No. No.	No Melanie. No. Un-uh.

From Fernald et al. 1989

Fernald (1993): Do infants get the message?

- How to assess whether they "get the message"?
- 5-month-olds

Measure: Facial expression (smiling, frowning) while listening to Approval or Prohibition

contours

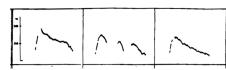


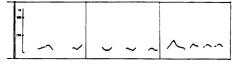


Results



More positive affect to <u>approval</u> contours.







More negative affect to <u>prohibition</u> contours.

So: Babies are influenced by emotional tone of ID speech, even in unfamiliar languages.

18

... and ID speech is *clearer* in some ways

- Because ID speech is <u>slower</u>, <u>higher-pitched</u> and has <u>more pitch change</u>:
 - different vowels (e.g., 'a' vs. 'i') are easier to tell apart

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20

- 2. What about the sounds of speech? 1 versus r, b versus p?
 - Adults first!
 - Speech sounds come in CATEGORIES
 - defined by how produced
 - e.g., place & voicing

place		voicing
b	bilabial	+
p	bilabial	-

1. Starting point for speech perception

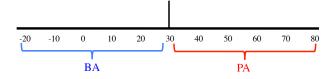
- Adults first.
- Speech sounds vary continuously,



22

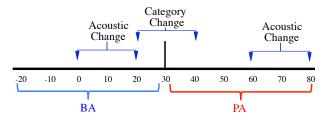
1. Starting point for speech perception

• Speech sounds vary continuously, but we perceive them (consciously) in strict categories:



1. Starting point for speech perception

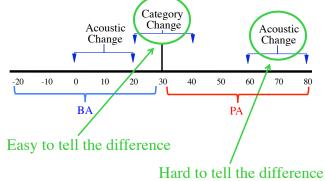
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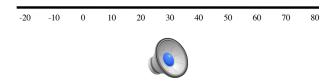
24

1. Starting point for speech perception

• Speech sounds vary continuously, but we perceive them (consciously) in strict categories:



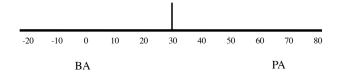




26

Back to infants:

- Do they perceive speech categorically?
- Or do they have to build those category boundaries from scratch?

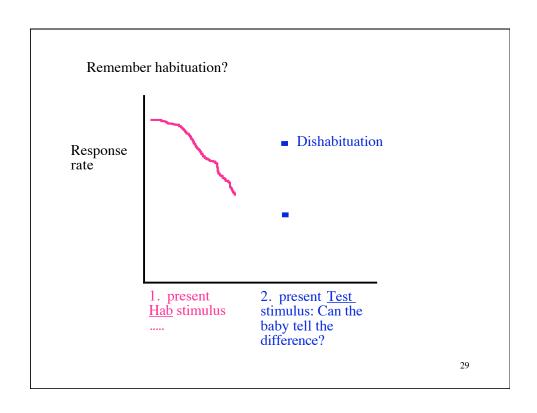


First, how can we tell if infants perceive the same category boundaries?



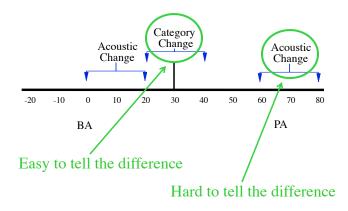
Habituation task:

- 1 sound plays repeatedly when baby sucks on pacifier
- After a few minutes, baby gets bored and response rate decreases
- Present <u>new</u> sound and see if baby responds again.



Starting point for speech perception

• Infants too: (even newborns)



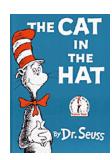
30

Question:

• Does categorical perception of speech-sound categories in newborns tells us that those categories are built in (i.e. innate)?

Even newborns have had some opportunity to hear their native language!

- Pregnant women read a story out loud in last 6 weeks of pregnancy
- Tested as newborns, with the same story versus a different story



Preferred the same story!

• Control group whose mothers did not read this story showed no preference.

DeCasper & Spence

32

But strong evidence on innateness comes from infants' perceptions of *non-native speech sounds*

- Speech sound categories are not the same across languages
- e.g., English <u>r</u> vs. <u>l</u> are not different consonants in Japanese

Japanese L/R			
English R	English L		

- ✓ Young Japanese infants easily discriminate R from L.
- X Japanese-speaking adults don't.

This change happens FAST (Werker)

- 6 to 8 months: Infants <u>do</u> discriminate non-native sounds
- 10 to 12 months: Infants <u>no longer</u> discriminate non-native sounds.

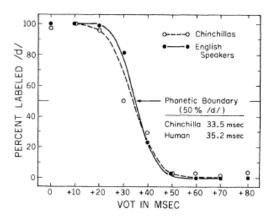


34

- Infants start with a built-in set of speech categories
 - enough to learn any language
- Then <u>learn to ignore</u> sound contrasts that aren't used in their language.

Other animals discriminate speech sounds in similar ways: not a uniquely human capacity!





36

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When do babies recognize words?

• Infants under a year old identify words (as familiar sound patterns)

38

The earliest example of word recognition:

Baby's own name
Mandel, Jusczyk, & Pisoni
4.5-month-olds, listening preference task

Repetitions of own name:

"Katie! Katie. ..."

OR Same-stress control:

"Kevin! Kevin ..."



Results:

- Infants listened longer to own name
- Even 4.5-month-olds accurately represent and remember the sounds patterns of words (at least, some words)

40

Can infants find words in connected speech?

This is a hard problem:

- There aren't normally pauses between words

How do you figure out which pieces of ordinary sentences <u>are</u> words?

Infants CAN find words in connected speech

- Infants keep track of which speech sounds occur predictably in the same order
- Syllables *within a word* follow each other predictably
 - but at the boundary between one word and the next, anything could happen

...prettybaby...

...prettyflower... ...goodbaby...
...prettydress... ...nicebaby...
...prettyflower... ...yourbaby...

42

Saffran, Aslin, Newport

- 8-month-old infants
- Familiarization: Listen for 2 minutes to

4 3-syllable "words" (tokibu, gopila, gikoba...) randomly ordered, NO PAUSES

...gikobatokibugopilatokibu....

• The statistics define the words:



- 'to' always followed by 'kibu'
- 'ba' followed by 'toki' only occasionally

Saffran, Aslin, Newport

• Listening preference test:

Word trials: "words" from the familiarization stream in isolation

e.g., Tokibu! Tokibu.

Non-word trials: sequences that did not occur consistently in the same order

e.g., Batoki! Batoki.

44

Saffran, Aslin, Newport

Result:

8-month-olds listened longer to non-word than word trials [novelty preference -- they got bored with those 4 words]

Interpretation:

- Infants kept track of which sounds occurred predictably in a row
- Repeated, predictable sequences begin to sound like they belong together – they become words

Summary

- Speech to infants has special properties
 - Infants prefer infant-directed style speech
 - And find its 'melody' meaningful
 - ID speech is clear speech
- Infants perceive speech categorically
 - They begin with a universal set of contrasts
 - Therefore discriminate sounds their parents cannot!
 - And learn to restrict their attention to language-specific contrasts
- Infants learn to recognize words as sound patterns even if they never hear those words surrounded by pauses